

ACTIONS CONSISTENT WITH THE
WAR POWERS RESOLUTION

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, as President pro tempore, I send to the desk a letter received from the President of the United States wherein he informs the Congress of his comments concerning his actions consistent with the War Powers Resolution, Public Law 107-40. I ask unanimous consent it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, March 20, 2003.

Hon. TED STEVENS,
President pro tempore of the Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: On September 24, 2001, I reported the deployment of various combat-equipped and combat support forces to a number of locations in the Central and Pacific Command areas of operation. On October 9, 2001, I reported the beginning of combat action in Afghanistan against terrorists and their Taliban supporters. In my reports to the Congress of March 20 and September 20, 2002, I provided supplemental information on the deployment of combat-equipped and combat support forces to a number of foreign nations in the Central and Pacific Command areas of operations and other areas. As a part of my efforts to keep the Congress informed, I am reporting further on United States' efforts in the global war on terrorism.

Our efforts in Afghanistan have met with success, but as I have stated in my previous reports, the U.S. campaign against terrorism will be lengthy. To date, U.S. Armed Forces, with the assistance of numerous coalition partners, have executed a superb campaign to eliminate the primary source of support to the terrorists who viciously attacked our Nation on September 11, 2001. The heart of al-Qaida's training capability has been seriously degraded. The Taliban's ability to brutalize the Afghan people and to harbor and support terrorists has been virtually eliminated. Pockets of al-Qaida and Taliban forces remain a threat to U.S. and coalition forces and to the Afghan government. What is left of both the Taliban and the al-Qaida fighters is being pursued actively and engaged by U.S. and coalition forces. Additionally, training missions and combat operations with Pakistani special forces are ongoing near the Afghan/Pakistan border.

Due to our success in Afghanistan, we have detained hundreds of al-Qaida and Taliban fighters who are believed to pose a continuing threat to the United States and its interests. The combat-equipped and combat support forces deployed to Naval Base, Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, in the Southern Command area of operations since January 2002, continue to conduct secure detention operations. We currently hold more than 600 enemy combatants at Guantanamo Bay. All are being treated humanely and, to the extent appropriate and consistent with military necessity, in a manner consistent with the principles of the Geneva Conventions of 1949.

In furtherance of our worldwide efforts against terrorists who pose a continuing and imminent threat to the United States, our friends and allies, and our forces abroad, we continue operations in other areas around the globe. Our relationship with the Government and Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) developed and matured throughout 2002. Last year's actions from February to July 2002 on Basilan Island, with AFP in

command and with U.S. forces in a support role, helped to drive hundreds of Abu Sayyaf Group terrorists from the island, restoring order and reestablishing government services. To ensure that the AFP has the skills to fight terrorism over the long term, we have a robust security assistance training program and a variety of exercises that will provide the AFP much needed counter-terrorism training and equipment. There are approximately 300 combat-equipped and combat support U.S. military personnel working with the AFP and U.S. forces continue to plan with the AFP for possible future activities. Continued U.S. support is warranted as the Government of the Philippines has provided unwavering support in the global war on terrorism.

Additionally, we continue to conduct maritime interception operations on the high seas in the Central and European Command areas of responsibility to prevent the movement, arming, or financing of international terrorists who pose a continuing threat to the United States.

Combat-equipped and combat support forces also have been deployed to Georgia and Yemen to assist the armed forces of those countries in enhancing their counter-terrorism capabilities, including by training and equipping their armed forces. Similar U.S. forces have deployed to Djibouti to command and control operations and other activities as necessary against al-Qaida and other international terrorists in the Horn of Africa region. These activities include providing oversight for urban and maritime counter-terrorism training with the Yemen special operations forces. We continue to assess options for working with other nations to assist them in this respect.

I have taken these actions pursuant to my constitutional authority to conduct U.S. foreign relations and as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive. In addition, these actions are consistent with Pub. L. 107-40. As I stated in my previous reports, it is not possible to know at this time either the duration of combat operations or the scope and duration of the deployment of U.S. Armed Forces necessary to counter the terrorist threat to the United States. I will direct additional measures as necessary to exercise our right to self-defense and to protect U.S. citizens and interests. Such measures may include short notice deployments of special operations and other forces for sensitive operations in various locations throughout the world.

I am providing this report as part of my efforts to keep the Congress informed, consistent with the War Powers Resolution and Pub. L. 107-40. Officials of my Administration and I have been communicating regularly with the leadership and other Members of Congress, and we will continue to do so. I appreciate the continuing support of the Congress in our efforts to protect the security of the United States of America and its citizens, civilian and military, here and abroad.

Sincerely,

GEORGE W. BUSH.

TRIBUTES TO DR. LLOYD JOHN OGILVIE

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Dr. Lloyd Ogilvie, who served as our Chaplain in the Senate since 1995.

Dr. Ogilvie has been an outstanding Chaplain to the Senate. He is a person I think all of us have grown to know and love and appreciate. He has been

our mentor, our companion, our friend, our brother, and our Chaplain.

He has provided great leadership, great prayers. He has prayed for us many times, and not just in his official capacity as Chaplain of the Senate. He has prayed for us individually as Members. He has prayed for our families. He has been with us through a lot of difficult times, challenging times, exciting times.

We want him and his family to know they are very much in our thoughts and prayers. His wife Mary Jane is a lovely lady. And she has experienced some very challenging physical tribulations of late. We want both Dr. Ogilvie and his wife Mary Jane to know they are in our thoughts and our prayers.

We certainly miss him as our Chaplain. He has been kind enough to not only meet with us in the morning and lead us in prayer, but he has met with many of us on a weekly basis—Members of the Senate and also our staffs, and also other people who work in the Senate.

He has been a great mentor and friend. We are certainly going to miss him as our Chaplain of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, I, too, would like to share a few comments about our Chaplain, Lloyd Ogilvie. I had the honor to get to know him after I came here. We live near one another. We see each other on a regular basis. My wife and Mary Jane are friends, as we are with Lloyd Ogilvie.

He is an extraordinary individual, one of the most educated people I have had the honor to know. He has written over 40 books. His book "One Quiet Moment", a devotional, I believe, is the finest devotional book I have ever seen. Reading those devotions, and thinking about them, is so current in time today while also so consistent with the great traditions of faith that it is really remarkable.

It is a special work he created there.

During his entire ministry, he was successful, whether in Hollywood, CA or in Illinois or here as chaplain. Our prayers are with Mary Jane, his wife. She is suffering substantially now. We worry about her. We care about her. Our prayers are with her. She has such a fighting spirit. She is a champion of life and of the good things of life. She speaks her mind and she has great values. They are a tremendous team.

I, too, join with others in expressing my appreciation for what he means to me, my appreciation for what he does for others in the Senate, including our staff members for whom he has ministered and for whom he has represented an outstanding example of the richest kind of Christian faith.

We have been blessed by having him here. We certainly will miss him. I will miss him.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I wish to comment a moment on our Chaplain who is leaving us.

I vividly recall when our previous Chaplain indicated he was not going to serve us any longer. Many of us thought it would be impossible to replace him. I was in a small group—I don't remember if it was three or five Senators—who were given the job of going out and looking in America for another Chaplain. Senator STEVENS was a member, I recall. So was Senator Mark Hatfield. I don't recall the others.

There were a lot of people. I was not so sure that Lloyd Ogilvie, based on the things he had done in his life—he was a great preacher; he had large assemblies of Christians he spoke to in the California area. I did not believe, as one, that he would necessarily fit in, but I said: Let's try him.

He preaches with a beautiful voice; he sounds almost like you would expect God to sound. He came, and he has been absolutely marvelous. Everybody here has learned to grow in faith and confidence having him around.

It is too bad he has to leave, but he is a very loyal man in terms of his marriage and his wife. I think her illness takes him to join her. I hope she gets well, although she has been very critical and he sees fit to be present there with her.

So we all say good-bye and good luck. Whomever he serves and whomever he shares his views with as to where we came from, where we are going to go when we finish here on Earth, and our value system, I am sure they will all benefit, just as we have.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, let me add my voice in commendation of Lloyd Ogilvie. He has been superb as the religious leader of this body.

Several years ago, my chief of staff died suddenly and unexpectedly. I called Dr. Ogilvie on very short notice and asked him to come and lead my staff in prayer and remembrance. I will never forget the extraordinary job, the extraordinary sensitivity that Dr. Ogilvie brought to that task. I will never forget the way he made my staff feel better in a very acute time of loss.

Dr. Ogilvie has been a remarkable friend to us all; he has done a superb job of leading us in prayer, and been a counselor to so many in the Senate family. We are going to miss him very much, and certainly miss the presence of Mary Jane as well.

I thank the Chair.

Mr. ENSIGN. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Oklahoma for talking about our chaplain. Lloyd Ogilvie was very influential in the very short time I knew him these last 2 years. A lot of people around the country don't know him, but he provided a very valuable service to the country by being the spiritual foundation not for just Senators but for the entire Senate family.

Because Lloyd Ogilvie had a television ministry, I was very skeptical about who this Senate chaplain was

when I first came here a little over 2 years ago. He leads Bible studies. He leads prayer groups. He leads times to get together for people. Regardless of faith, whether somebody was Muslim, Jewish or a follower of Jesus, Lloyd John Ogilvie was there for us in the truest sense of the word.

He knew what was going on in individual people's lives. If somebody was suffering, he knew about it because people trusted him enough to bring him into their confidence. As we have seen over the last couple years, he was there when the Senate was suffering as a family. He would come and comfort us, and he would lead us from a spiritual sense. I have come to greatly admire this man.

One of his sayings was quoted in an article I read that helped inspire me to run for Congress back in 1994. The saying was: You may only be able to make a small difference, but that does not relieve you of the responsibility to make that small difference.

People say you can't change the world, so why try. That quote by Lloyd John Ogilvie tells us of the responsibility we have. Whatever small difference you can make, that is what you are called to make.

This man, who I believe at the end of his days will come before the Father in heaven, the Father in heaven will put his hand on his head and he will say to Lloyd John Ogilvie: Well done, good and faithful servant.

Each of us in the Senate family look to Lloyd John Ogilvie and say to him: Thank you. He has truly been a good and faithful servant. My prayers go out to him and Mary Jane. She is suffering tremendously. All of us together have been joining in prayer to relieve her suffering. It has been a terrible thing to watch them go through. Even through this terrible suffering, we have seen the strength of Lloyd and Mary Jane. They have been a comfort to us even through this time of trial.

I thank both of them for their service to this country and to the Senate family.

Mr. CHAMBLISS. Mr. President, let me add my appreciation to Dr. Lloyd Ogilvie for his terrific service to this great institution. I have been a Member here for not even 3 months now. Lloyd Ogilvie has added such great inspiration to my life. It has been a joy to get to know him and to have the opportunity to listen to him, to learn from him in our Bible study, to share our Wednesday morning prayer breakfast with him, and to have some private time with him. It has been a real joy, a privilege, and something that truly got my career in the Senate started in the right way.

We are all here truly by the grace of God. There is nobody who understands the grace of God and is able to express it better than Lloyd Ogilvie.

My wife is a very strong Christian, and the highlight of her week, when she is able to be up here, is the Tuesday Bible study that the spouses at-

tend. Dr. Ogilvie exhibits that same inspiration to the spouses as he does to us.

We will miss this guy. He is such a great man, a great spiritual leader, and a great American. What he and Mary Jane have been through over the last couple of years is an inspiration to all of us. It lets us know that good men suffer just like everybody else in the world, and Lloyd Ogilvie and Mary Jane have been through very difficult times.

God has a place for all of us, and God truly has placed Lloyd and Mary Jane in the right place at the right time by sending him to the Senate.

I told Lloyd this in the last Bible study he led last week. The first time I met him I was not a Member of the Senate. I was a Member of the House, and I attended the funeral of my close friend and Georgia colleague, Senator Paul Coverdell. It was in a Methodist church in Atlanta. When they said that Dr. Lloyd Ogilvie, who I knew was a Presbyterian minister, was going to have the service, I said: Who is this guy? Why is he coming down to do my friend Paul's service?

I told him the other day, I said: It didn't take but one sentence out of your mouth, Lloyd, to understand why you are where you are, that God had truly placed you in the right position. And what a terrific job he did for the Coverdell family and all of us at a very difficult time in the life of my State, the life of me personally, and certainly the life of the Coverdell family at that point in time.

We obviously will keep Lloyd and Mary Jane in our thoughts and prayers every single day as they continue to go through difficult times. Mary Jane had a better day the other day. And when it was reported at the prayer breakfast on Wednesday morning, you could just see the light in the room brighten because we knew that Mary Jane was feeling better, which meant Lloyd was feeling better, which meant all of us were feeling better.

We do cherish the moments we have with Lloyd. We thank him for his great service to our country and to this great institution. We wish him and Mary Jane Godspeed. They will continue to be in our prayers every single day.

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I rise today to honor and thank Chaplain Ogilvie for his service and devotion to the entire Senate family over the past 8 years. Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie has been the Chamber's spiritual leader since the 104th Congress, having been nominated to the Chaplaincy by Majority Leader Robert Dole in 1995, the same year I joined the United States Senate. Throughout his tenure here, he has fulfilled his role as "an intercessor, trusted prayer partner, and faithful counselor" with the commitment, compassion, and comforting grace of a learned and sincere man of God. There are many among us in the Senate who have sought his wisdom and found solace in his council and friendship.

In addition to listening to his beautiful prayers at the commencement of each legislative session, I have been a regular participant in his weekly Bible study groups. Like many of my colleagues, I have watched Dr. Ogilvie execute his office with a great joy for the work he does and a deep respect for the moral difficulties we often face as the Nation's lawmakers. In times both of celebration and distress, Chaplain Ogilvie always did more than make himself available to the thousands of Senate members, staff, and employees; he reached out to our community and brought us together, inviting all faiths and all kinds to be a part of the family. Throughout the tragic events of September 11, 2001, and in the confusing, frightening time that followed, we witnessed Dr. Ogilvie's amazing capacity for calming and focusing our thoughts, encouraging their expression, and reminding us of the strength we possess when we put our faith in God.

Chaplain Ogilvie has been a particularly important figure in my private and professional lives. We pray together daily and frequently discuss questions of ethics, religion, and law. But he has also shared in the personal experiences and sorrows that my own family has undergone. Prayerfully guiding me and my wife through the loss of our son, Gabriel, Dr. Ogilvie's reassuring words and his friendship were an invaluable source of peace for us then, as they continue to be now.

I have much admiration for Lloyd John Ogilvie, and am grateful to him, for leading us all by the example of his life. As he relinquishes the Senate Chaplaincy and returns to California and to his wife, he reminds us that our most important responsibilities are always to our families and loved ones, and through them, to God.

Thank you, Lloyd, for showing us where the right path leads, for serving the Senate and our Lord faithfully, and for helping the Senate family to weather our personal and collective difficulties. Your guidance and your companionship will be greatly missed.

Mr. HAGEL. Mr. President, we will all miss our dear friend Dr. Lloyd J. Ogilvie. His distinguished service to the Senate has been an important part of this institution during this historic time. Since he was appointed Senate Chaplain in 1995, Dr. Ogilvie has offered guidance, support, and prayers to Senators, their staffs, and our families. He has greatly enhanced the Office of Senate Chaplain that was instituted at the Senate's first meeting in 1789.

Dr. Ogilvie's ministry has been a ballast and a bridge for Senators on both sides of the aisle. His spiritual leadership has been strong. His service has been selfless. As he takes up his work outside of the Senate, Lilibet and I wish to express our profound gratitude for the inspiration and wisdom he has shared with so many of us. We cherish our friendship with Lloyd and Mary Jane. May God bless both of them.

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, Rev. Lloyd Ogilvie came to the Senate when I did

in 1995. He and I became good friends. Lloyd has meant more to me than I can express. He has been a friend and spiritual advisor to my colleagues and many, many staff members and employees of the Senate. Democrats and Republicans, men and women of many different religious faiths, could always call on him.

He has been a focal point of the Senate family. On September 11, and every day since, his ability to share the power of his faith in God has been all the more invaluable to me and to others. He is eloquent and learned. He's done a wonderful job, opening every session with prayer, leading Bible study, helping us to understand Scripture and ourselves.

For the good of this institution he has worked with us to realize, in the words of John Witherspoon, "the dominion of Providence over the passions of men." Obviously that is pretty important here in the Senate, where we are frequently at loggerheads. Reverend Ogilvie, by lifting our sights to the world of the spirit, has been a soothing presence.

We did not want to lose him; but we know it was necessary to be with his wife Mary Jane in California. We understand; and, since he is going to continue his prolific speaking, teaching, and writing, we also know we won't lose touch with him.

The entire Senate family is better for the service of this influential servant of God. Lloyd and Mary Jane, Godspeed.

Mrs. DOLE. Mr. President, I rise tonight to express by great admiration and appreciation for Dr. Lloyd Ogilvie, a man who has served the Senate, and our country, with great dignity and honor.

Bob and I have treasured our friendship with Lloyd and Mary Jane through many years. I feel blessed to know such a warm, compassionate and caring couple. They share a beautiful partnership and just last year celebrated 50 years of marriage and three wonderful children, Scott, Heather and Andrew.

Mary Jane has long been admired for setting such a strong example of what it means to give of yourself. After battling breast cancer 20 years ago, she has done so much to help other women going through the pain—physical, emotional and spiritual—of cancer and cancer treatment. My thoughts and prayers are continually with Mary Jane and her family now, at this very difficult time in her life and theirs.

Lloyd Ogilvie is an extraordinary man of God. He has served amongst us with such a gentle and humble spirit, that sometimes it has been easy to forget what a world-renown spiritual guide and Biblical scholar we have had in our midst. As a profound preacher, as well as an author and editor of over 40 books, Lloyd Ogilvie is admired the world over for his depth of insight into eternal truths and for his ability to communicate those truths in a God-

horning and loving spirit. It has been our special blessing to have had this wise, dear man of God as our personal friend and advisor, standing with us here in the Senate Chamber or meeting with us just down the hall.

The first in his family to attend college, Lloyd Ogilvie's plan was to study drama, hoping to go to Hollywood. He answered a call to preach instead, but still ended up in Hollywood—pastoring the First Presbyterian Church.

After 23 years at First Presbyterian, Dr. Ogilvie answered another call—and became the 61st Chaplain of the Senate. Recommended by a bipartisan committee, he was nominated by then-Majority Leader Bob Dole and he began his duties March 13, 1995. He bridged Dole to Dole—and during his time in the Senate he has also bridged many differences, counseling and caring for both sides of the aisle.

With that deep, booming voice of his, which we have come to so easily recognize and love, Lloyd has opened our days in prayer. Day after day, he has steadied our hearths and pointed our thoughts Heavenward. And I believe, as a result, he has helped us to render service to our Nation and to our God with a deeper sense of perspective and stewardship.

From this first days as Chaplain, Dr. Ogilvie reached out in so many ways—one of which impacted my life—a weekly Bible study for Senate spouses. And one of the things I will miss most is the Senators' Bible Study he has led every Thursday at noon during my first 10 weeks in the U.S. Senate.

Lloyd has seen all of us here in the Senate family as his parish. He will be deeply missed by the hundreds of Senate staffers, cafeteria workers, police officers, and service department personnel whom he has inspired to deeper faith and commitment.

Lloyd's love of Christ, and his love of others in Christ's name, have been evident through his life, and his ministry amongst us, each and every day. There is a remarkable, caring spirit about Lloyd Ogilvie, a special attentiveness in his demeanor. Lloyd has a wonderful capacity for kindness and compassion. He has been a valued teacher and counselor to so many. He has been there at our side, when we or our family members have faced turmoil. And he has ministered among us when our Nation has faced special challenges.

Each one of us is constantly in need of God's grace and guidance not only to make the big decisions, but also to perform life's routine duties with the love for others, the peace, the joy inherent in God's call. Lloyd Ogilvie has helped bring that grace and guidance to the Senate. His gift, and his passion, is helping others not only to understand God's will, but to resolve to live within God's will each and every day.

Although Lloyd Ogilvie is leaving the Senate, I am comforted in knowing that he will still be praying for the people of the Senate. Through his continued friendship, and his writings, he

will be a treasured resource for spiritual guidance.

As former chaplains of distinction Peter Marshall and Richard Halverson continue to impact this historic Chamber, so, too, will Lloyd John Ogilvie.

LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 2001

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I rise today to speak about the need for hate crimes legislation. In the last Congress Senator KENNEDY and I introduced the Local Law Enforcement Act, a bill that would add new categories to current hate crimes law, sending a signal that violence of any kind is unacceptable in our society.

I would like to describe a terrible crime that occurred on September 14, 2001 in Tulsa, OK. A food store employee of Middle-Eastern descent was attacked while leaving his apartment. Three people jumped on him, knocked him down, covered his eyes, and beat him. After addressing him with an expletive, the men threatened, "We are going to cut you like you cut our people." Before his eyes were covered, he saw that one of the attackers had a knife-like object. The victim was hospitalized and treated for multiple lacerations.

I believe that Government's first duty is to defend its citizens, to defend them against the harms that come out of hate. The Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act is a symbol that can become substance. I believe that by passing this legislation and changing current law, we can change hearts and minds as well.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, March 23 marks the 20th anniversary of President Reagan's historic address to the Nation in which he launched the program known as the Strategic Defense Initiative, SDI, designed to help protect America and our allies from ballistic missile attack.

I would like to commemorate this occasion by placing a copy of President Reagan's remarks into the RECORD at this time.

With each passing year, we see more clearly the wisdom of President Reagan's vision. The spread of technology relating to ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction has grown enormously in 20 years. Since September 11, 2001—and now as we are engaged in military operations to disarm IRAQ—more people have become aware of the growing threats we face from missile attack.

When President Reagan spoke in 1983, he said it might take "decades" before reliable missile defense was a reality. And he was right. As he well knew, it was not only the technical and engineering hurdles that stood in the way, but also the formidable political obstacles.

During the Clinton years, the outdated ABM Treaty was enshrined as the "cornerstone of strategic stability," SDI was essentially scrapped,

and, in 1996, the Congress's determination to build a missile defense system by 2003 was vetoed.

But George W. Bush dramatically changed the political climate and has taken a different course—a course in keeping with President Reagan's commitment. In 2001, he wisely announced U.S. withdrawal from the ABM Treaty, and in 2002, he announced that we would move to deploy the first elements, sea-based and land based for a real missile defense system capable of protecting U.S. cities from long-range missile attacks.

I applaud President Bush for his steadfast commitment to America's national security and to fulfilling President Reagan's vision. The bold actions he is taking are moving us forward to the actual deployment of a missile defense capability that will serve our country for many years to come.

I ask unanimous consent to have President Reagan's speech printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON NATIONAL SECURITY BY PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN—
MARCH 23, 1983

The calls for cutting back the defense budget come in nice, simple arithmetic. They're the same kind of talk that led the democracies to neglect their defenses in the 1930's and invited the tragedy of World War II. We must not let that grim chapter of history repeat itself through apathy or neglect.

This is why I'm speaking to you tonight—to urge you to tell your Senators and Congressmen that you know we must continue to restore our military strength. If we stop in midstream, we will send a signal of decline, of lessened will, to friends and adversaries alike. Free people must voluntarily, through open debate and democratic means, meet the challenge that totalitarians pose by compulsion. It's up to us, in our time, to choose and choose wisely between the hard but necessary task of preserving peace and freedom and the temptation to ignore our duty and blindly hope for the best while the enemies of freedom grow stronger day by day.

The solution is well within our grasp. But to reach it, there is simply no alternative but to continue this year, in this budget, to provide the resources we need to preserve the peace and guarantee our freedom.

Now, thus far tonight I've shared with you my thoughts on the problems of national security we must face together. My predecessors in the Oval Office have appeared before you on other occasions to describe the threat posed by Soviet power and have proposed steps to address that threat. But since the advent of nuclear weapons, those steps have been increasingly directed toward deterrence of aggression through the promise of retaliation.

This approach to stability through offensive threat has worked. We and our allies have succeeded in preventing nuclear war for more than three decades. In recent months, however, my advisers, including in particular the Joint Chiefs of Staff, have underscored the necessity to break out of a future that relies solely on offensive retaliation for our security.

Over the course of these discussions, I've become more and more deeply convinced

that the human spirit must be capable of rising above dealing with other nations and human beings by threatening their existence. Feeling this way, I believe we must thoroughly examine every opportunity for reducing tensions and for introducing greater stability into the strategic calculus on both sides.

One of the most important contributions we can make is, of course, to lower the level of all arms, and particularly nuclear arms. We're engaged right now in several negotiations with the Soviet Union to bring about a mutual reduction of weapons. I will report to you a week from tomorrow my thoughts on that score. But let me just say, I'm totally committed to this course.

If the Soviet Union will join with us in our effort to achieve major arms reduction, we will have succeeded in stabilizing the nuclear balance. Nevertheless, it will still be necessary to rely on the specter of retaliation, on mutual threat. And that's a sad commentary on the human condition. Wouldn't it be better to save lives than to avenge them? Are we not capable of demonstrating our peaceful intentions by applying all our abilities and our ingenuity to achieving a truly lasting stability? I think we are. Indeed, we must.

After careful consultation with my advisers, including the Joint Chiefs of Staff, I believe there is a way. Let me share with you a vision of the future which offers hope. It is that we embark on a program to counter the awesome Soviet missile threat with measures that are defensive. Let us turn to the very strengths in technology that spawned our great industrial base and that have given us the quality of life we enjoy today.

What if free people could live secure in the knowledge that their security did not rest upon the threat of instant U.S. retaliation to deter a Soviet attack, that we could intercept and destroy strategic ballistic missiles before they reached our own soil or that of our allies?

I know this is a formidable, technical task, one that may not be accomplished before the end of this century. Yet, current technology has attained a level of sophistication where it's reasonable for us to begin this effort. It will take years, probably decades of effort on many fronts. There will be failures and setbacks, just as there will be successes and breakthroughs. And as we proceed, we must remain constant in preserving the nuclear deterrent and maintaining a solid capability for flexible response. But isn't it worth every investment necessary to free the world from the threat of nuclear war? We know it is.

In the meantime, we will continue to pursue real reductions in nuclear arms, negotiating from a position of strength that can be ensured only by modernizing our strategic forces. At the same time, we must take steps to reduce the risk of a conventional military conflict escalating to nuclear war by improving our nonnuclear capabilities.

America does possess—now—the technologies to attain very significant improvements in the effectiveness of our conventional, nonnuclear forces. Proceeding boldly with these new technologies, we can significantly reduce any incentive that the Soviet Union may have to threaten attack against the United States or its allies.

As we pursue our goal of defensive technologies, we recognize that our allies rely upon our strategic offensive power to deter attacks against them. Their vital interests and ours are inextricably linked. Their safety and ours are one. And on change in technology can or will alter that reality. We must and shall continue to honor our commitments.

I clearly recognize that defensive systems have limitations and raise certain problems